SIMPLE, YET POWERFUL ENGLISH OF MoveOn's CAMPAIGNS

Aris Munendar*

ABSTRAK


Kata Kunci: kampanye, pemilihan kata, struktur retorika, daya persuasi

ABSTRACT

Getting messages across to a large audience of diverse backgrounds is a challenge. MoveOn.org is successful in responding to the challenge when writing its campaigns in a language intelligible to all members. This research studies the characteristics of English used in MoveOn's campaigns during the periods of January 25, to March 30, 2011. It reveals that the campaigns choose ordinary words (neither politically charged nor hyperbolic) to maintain neutrality and situation-problem-solution pattern for its rhetorical structure in order to convey an easy-to-follow argument. The research concludes that MoveOn designs its campaigns to produce persuasive effects that are more rational-based than emotional-based.

Keywords: campaign, choice of words, rhetorical structure, persuasiveness

INTRODUCTION

The 2007 U.S Presidential campaign, election, and inauguration was a historical moment for the U.S., and even for the world. The elected president Barack Obama is the first black to hold the position, and his success was due to the internet use in his campaigning. Through www.baracabama.com his campaigning team reached potential voters throughout the U.S. and won major support. This is phenomenal, and has inspired the rest of the world to use the internet for campaigning.

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In fact, the internet has been in use for campaigning since before the 2007 U.S. presidential campaign. In 1998 Joan Blades and Wes Boyd started MoveOn.org Civic Action and launched an online petition to “Cencure President Clinton and Move On to Pressing Issues Facing the Nation”. Within days they had hundreds of thousand individuals signed up, and began looking for ways these voices could be heard. (http://www.moveon.org).

Campaigning, regardless of the medium, relies on language to deliver its message. When language is poor, a powerful message will likely fail to win supports from the target audience because it may lack clarity and appeal. For this reason, the words and the discourse structure must be carefully selected in order to project the message clearly, help the target audience understand it, and at the same time produce persuasive effects that lead to favorable responses from the audience. Such medium of communication as the internet helps only to communicate the message faster and to a larger audience. Thus, language gives more significant contribution than other factors to the success of campaigning.

Researches on the language of campaign have been conducted to reveal the coherence which is sometimes obscured (e.g. Munandar, 2001) and to identify the target audience which is often undefined (e.g. Munandar, 2003). Their findings point to the key role of language in campaigning in gaining or losing public support. MoveOn sets a good model of using an effective English for campaigning. A study on its campaigns enables English learners and copywriters to learn how MoveOn has selected the words and discourse structure to get messages across to the target audience comprising different walks of life in an effective way. This article reports the findings of the study on 29 MoveOn’s campaigns sent to members during the periods of January 25, to March 30, 2011.

The facts about MoveOn are available at its official homepage, http://www.moveon.org. The following summary offers a short account on its history and mission. MoveOn is a service—a way for busy but concerned citizens to find their political voice in a system dominated by big money and big media. The MoveOn family of organizations is made up of a couple of different pieces. MoveOn.org CivicAction, a non profit organization, formerly known just as MoveOn.org, primarily focuses on education and advocacy on important national issues. MoveOn.org Political Action, a federal PAC, formerly known as MoveOn PAC, mobilizes people across the country to fight important battles in Congress and help elect candidates who reflect American people’s values. Both organizations are entirely funded by individuals.

The MoveOn family of organizations brings real Americans back into the political process. With 5 million members across America—from carpenters to stay-at-home moms to business leaders—it works together to realize the progressive promise of their country. Every member has a voice in choosing the direction for both MoveOn.org Political Action and MoveOn.org CivicAction. Using its ActionForum software, members can propose priorities and strategies. Both organizations also take the initiative to organize quick action on other timely issues that its members care about. Over the years, MoveOn.org Civic Action has created a number of television and print advertisements to amplify the voices of MoveOn members.

Pursuant to its mission, MoveOn sends out electronic campaigns to let Americans (members) aware of what is going on, what impacts they might receive, and what they can do to deal with it. The campaigns generally follow a standard format consisting of three major parts:

1. Call-for-Action Box;
2. Main Text;

Call-for-Action Box delivers the most important message of the campaign. It is brief, to-the-point, and clear, serving in a similar way as an abstract for a paper. It is the most effective and efficient section to read for members who are updated with the issue. Main Text presents facts, opinions, or other information as for logical
reasoning, or argument, of the campaign. It helps members to understand why an action is urgent and then make a decision for their favourable response. Supplement offers reference(s) to help members understand the issue comprehensively, shape their perspective, or catch up with the latest development of the issue.

This format makes the campaigns efficient and fair. It is efficient because the campaigns address all members at once; and it is fair because it caters the needs of different groups of members. Those who already have a perspective on the issue may choose not to read all parts before taking an action. They can focus only on the call-for-action box and skip the other parts, while those who still need information may go to all parts. This implies two different routes to the response: a short cut and a long route. The long route is following the argument in the main text, getting to know more on the issue from the references in the supplement, and finally ready to take the action in the call-for-action box. The short cut is directly going to the call-for-action box.

MoveOn builds its argument in a situation-problem-solution pattern. Under this rhetorical structure, the "problem" is expressed through phrases which provoke fear or worry, a mental condition people want to either escape from, or deal with. The "solution", is expressed through phrases which carry hope or optimism that they can fix the "problem". This structure guides the audience to follow the logic of the argument clearly and easily, and to accept the proposed action without doubt and delay.

Word choice matters because MoveOn's members are of different social, economic, and educational backgrounds. Move On uses ordinary words and simple structure to reduce complicatedness, thus, optimizing comprehension. Ordinary words are frequently used in daily talks with readily comprehended meanings, while simple syntax avoids the use of compound complex sentences. This strategy has proven to be effective for getting million members moving. In other words, the simple language of the campaigns is able to produce powerful persuasive effects.

The research collected 29 MoveOn campaigns sent to members' email account during the periods of January 25 to March 31, 2011. Two campaigns were sorted out because they are "survey" designed to get feedback from members on MoveOn's work. The remaining 27 campaigns cover 5 issues, i.e., 1) Gun Control, 2) Budget Cut, 3) Anti-Choice Bill, 4) Humanitarian Aid, and 5) Federal Tax. The Budget Cut is the most intensively communicated issue (19 campaigns), showing that it will bring serious impacts to the Americans once it is approved by the Senate. The Anti-choice Bill issue comes by a second place with five consecutive campaigns. Each of the other three issues appears only in one campaign. The following table 1 presents the summary of the data.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Campaign's date and title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Gun control</td>
<td>Jan 25: &quot;Mayor Bloomberg&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Anti-choice bill</td>
<td>Feb 1: &quot;Redefining rape?&quot;; Feb 3: &quot;incredible&quot;; Feb 8:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The research approaches the campaigns as text following Halliday and Hasan's definition of text (1994:13). The analysis focuses on the first and second parts of the campaign, i.e. the call-for-action box and the main text. First, it analyzes the rhetorical structures of the main text, and then the choice of words and syntax. Finally, from the analyses results it draws a conclusion on the characteristics of English used in the campaigns.

**CHOICE OF WORDS AND STRUCTURE OF MOVEON CAMPAIGNS**

MoveOn's campaigns is characterized by the use of ordinary words (lexicon) and simple structure (syntax). It restricts the use of figurative language, and most words are not politically charged. To achieve stronger, more specific meanings, the words are combined into larger units (phrase or clause). In terms of the language use, MoveOn org. applies a different strategy from propaganda which frequently uses charged words.

The use of simple language has excluded MoveOn campaign from George Orwell's criticism that political writing has a marked characteristic of containing a mixture of vagueness and sheer incompetence. (in Eschholz, et al., 1978:25). Orwell further argues that “as soon as certain topics are raised, the concrete melts into the abstract and no one seems able to think of turns of speech that are not hackeneyed; prose consists less and less of words chosen for the sake of their meaning, and more and more of phrases tacked together like the sections of a prefabricated hen house”. The use of simple structure (syntax) helps restrict the campaigns to remain to the point in expressing the message. There is hardly superfluous phrase in use.

MoveOn does not use jargons, politically charged words, or hollow hyperbolic words that require the audience to contemplate on their implied meaning or association. Such words as to articulate, to pitch, to expose, tragedy, funding, support, demand, change, cut, unemployment, and negotiate, are frequently found in everyday language and that no one will have difficulties to understand the meanings. Most words, however, are used in elaborated phrase following the principle of clarity, that is, to get more specific meaning. Elaborated phrases also transform ordinary words (not charged words) into powerful ones. For instance, the word “now” has a more specific meaning when combined with “—not three months from now” (MoveOn, January 27). Other examples with intensified meanings are:

1. fight → fight tooth and nail (MoveOn, January 25)
2. public demand → overwhelming public demand (MoveOn, January 25)
3. attack → just the first of many attacks (MoveOn, February 1); a full-throated attack (MoveOn, February 8); radical, right-wing attack (MoveOn, Feb 25)
4. outcry → outcry that can’t be ignored (MoveOn, February 1)
5. over 290,000 people have signed our petition → our biggest one-day petition in years (MoveOn, February 3)
6. deliver → hand-deliver (MoveOn, February 3)
7. danger → grave danger (MoveOn, February 12)
8. (bad) proposal → the worst proposal in more than a decade (MoveOn, February 12)
9. cut funding → zero out funding (MoveOn, February 12)
10. Portrayal → hard-hitting portrayal (MoveOn, Feb 16)

To remain simple, the phrases or adjunct clauses are kept short.
Table 2: Choice of words and Effects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Effects</th>
<th>Word(s) choice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fear, threat</td>
<td>Tragedy; glaring holes in the system; powerful and super well-funded gun lobby; fight tooth and nails; laying off... by the millions; slashing Social Security; cutting unemployment benefits; zeroing everything; huge budget cuts; frightening chance; severely restricted, hurting lower-income women; to push stringent restriction; dangerous anti-choice provisions; attacks on women's rights; incredibly dangerous precedent; scary; absolutely horrifying; to force women back into the back alley, to erode a woman's right to choose; grave danger; a radical, far-reaching rollback of women's rights; a war on women; shocking, crazy things;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disappointment</td>
<td>Speaking from a fantasy world; sending mixed messages; in trouble; the worst proposal in more than a decade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optimism, hope, enthusiasm</td>
<td>Huge public support; overwhelming public demand; smart media campaign; progressive solution; a massive new campaign; incredible; biggest one-day petition in years; hand-deliver all the signatures right in front of the news media and their camera; huge public outcry; back pedaling from an outrageous attempt; amazing</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hyperbole can sometimes be deceitful, or obscure the real meaning. Hyperbolic word is always subjective, so it tends to draw emotional response from the audience. MoveOn wants its messages, which are of factual affairs, to be understood in a rational way, and consequently to receive rational responses. "Educating" the grass-root means telling the truth to make them aware of what is actually going on. Their awareness should be based on logical understanding, not on assumption, prejudice, or blinded acceptance. Sometimes, bombastic words are used to boost the morale but the use is always on a firm ground. For examples:

11 The reports...were amazing -inspiring and energizing. 1,000 people in St.Paul in 5-degree weather. 3,100 in a downpour in Trenton. ... (MoveOn, Feb 28)

12 And the world noticed. ...there was an extraordinary amount of local news coverage ... The New York Times, the Associated Press, CNN, Blomberg, and The Washington Post all covered the protest. (MoveOn, Feb 28)

13 The brave Democratic state senators. ...These senators have been away from their homes and families for almost two weeks now, at great personal cost. (MoveOn, March 3)

14 Republican politicians in Wisconsin have gone mad with power. ... issued arrest warrant for the brave Democratic state senators ... And Republicans have locked down the Capitol building, even denying access to firefighters responding to an emergency call. (MoveOn March 5)

15 Devastating impacts these cuts will have on our country...Check out the list below: [10 things as the consequences of the budget cut]. (MoveOn March 8)

The words amazing, the world, brave, mad with power, devastating, are realistic as supported with facts for justification.

The use of ordinary words in MoveOn campaigns is in contrast with the use of charged words in political campaigns. For example, the campaigns by the People's Democratic Party (PRD) of Indonesia use charged-words very intensively with the risks of losing support from the audience who dislike harsh, vulgar expressions. The below words from the party's campaign to address the ruling party and its supporters are too emotional and violent. They are likely to produce adverse effects to the educated and mature supporters, i.e., withdrawal of support; but for the bigotry these words would sound just great.
The campaigns even occasionally use fragments for emphasis, making the message undeniable and final. Based on the number of words used, the fragments are divided into two types: single-word fragment and longer fragment. The first contains one word only, while the latter has more than one words.

The single-word fragments in the following excerpts are italicized.

(23) With Republicans back in charge of the House of representative, funding for NPR and PBS is in grave danger. Again. (MoveOn, Feb 12)

(24) What kind of country cuts food aid to hungry pregnant women and children in the middle of an economic crisis—while giving a giant tax break to billionaires? Seriously. (MoveOn, March 18)

(25) According to The New York Times, last year General Electric (GE) made over $14.2 billion in profit, but paid no federal tax. None. (MoveOn, March 31)

(26) Amazing. Since Friday.....(MoveOn, February 15)

(27) Wow. Just wow. Yesterday, 50,000 people.....(MoveOn, Feb 28)

(28) Wow. The energy around ....(MoveOn,Feb 26)

In the followings examples, the longer fragments are italicized.

(29) Force states to fire 65,000 teachers. Kill 700,000 jobs. And send 10,000 veterans into homelessness. (MoveOn, March 9)

(30) Think “no” means “no”? Well, 173 members of Congress don’t. (MoveOn, Feb 1)

Several campaigns start with a simple sentence as an intriguing opening. It arouses the audience’s curiosity to find out more from the rest of the campaign. There is no reason for them to disagree with the claim in that opening as the audience can always satisfy their curiosity after reading the other parts. MoveOn has made every part of the campaign inseparable, and all together build the coherence. Some examples of curious
opening are in the followings.

(31) I guess we shouldn't be surprised. (MoveOn, Feb 12)

(32) Sadly, it's not. (MoveOn, Feb 19)

(33) Moment like these don't come along often. (MoveOn, Feb 23)

(34) This is an all-hands-on-the-deck moment. (MoveOn, Feb 24)

(35) We could be on the verge of losing in Wisconsin. (MoveOn March 3)

(36) Republican politicians in Wisconsin have gone mad with power. (MoveOn, March 5)

(37) It's time to sound the alarm. (MoveOn, March 8)

(38) The devastation in Japan is simply horrific. (MoveOn, March 16)

(39) April 4, 2011 is shaping up to be one of the most important progressive days of action in nearly a decade. (MoveOn, March 30)

Rhetorical Structure of Situation-Problem-Solution Pattern

The analysis on the rhetorical structure identified the "situation-problem-solution" pattern. The "situation" presents general picture of the issue, the "problem" describes some potential threats, or unpleasant states of the "situation", and the "solution" offers ways to overcome the problem. The use of rhetorical structure helps the audience understand the logic more easily. It is intensifying the message by putting ideas together systematically, which according to Rank's Intensify/Downplay pattern, is called "Composition". (in Eschholz, et. al., 1978). Table 3 below presents the rhetorical structure of MoveOn campaigns on each issue.

Table 3: The Rhetorical Structure of MoveOn Campaigns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Rhetorical Structure</th>
<th>Problem</th>
<th>Solution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Gun control</td>
<td>The tragedy in Tucson has brought to light some glaring holes in our gun control system.</td>
<td>(but) the gun lobby and the NRA are powerful and super well-funded and they will fight this tooth and nail</td>
<td>If we can show overwhelming public demand for the mayors' efforts right now, change is possible. Sign the petition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(data Jan 25: &quot;Mayor Bloomberg&quot;)</td>
<td>A bipartisan group of mayors from across the country, led by New York Mayor Michael Bloomberg, is now pushing to close these loopholes.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Budget Cut</td>
<td>Huge budget cuts vs. investment and jobs. This will be the fight of the next two years. And our only chance is to expose what &quot;cutting spending&quot; really means: laying off teachers and firefighters and police officers by the millions, cutting unemployment benefits, slashing Social Security, and zeroing out everything from NPR to the EPA.</td>
<td>Republican control the spending process. They've shown that they're willing to &quot;take hostages&quot;. When that's happened, Democrats have rolled over. Worse, the President is sending mixed messages -he's calling for more investment, but also a spending freeze. So, we're in trouble.</td>
<td>We need speak up loudly for progressive solutions to the economic crisis and make the case that the GOP vision will be devastating. This'll take smart media campaigns and lots and lots of grassroots organizing. (That's why we're asking everyone to pitch in what they can). Contribute.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(data sample Jan 27: &quot;last night's speech&quot;)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3. Anti-Choice Bill</td>
<td>Right now, federal dollars can't be used for abortion except in cases of rape, incest, or when the woman's life is in danger.</td>
<td>But ... the Smith bill would narrow that use to &quot;cases of horrifying rape but not statutory or coerced rape&quot;. This could mean cases where women are &quot;drugged or given excessive amount of alcohol, rapes of women with limited mental capacity, and many date rapes&quot; would no longer count as rape.</td>
<td>And with 173 supporters it already has a frightening chance of passage—unless the public speaks up right away with an outcry that can't be ignored. Sign the petition to Congress today, demanding they oppose the sexist, anti-choice Smith bill.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(data sample Feb 1: &quot;Redefining rape&quot;)</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Issue</td>
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<tr>
<td>4. Federal Tax</td>
<td>According to The New York Times, last year General Electric (GE) made over $14.2 billion profit, but paid no federal tax. None.</td>
<td>Now GE is slashing health benefits and retirement benefits for new employees among non union workers and is expected to push unions to accept similar cutbacks, while its CEO, Jeff Immelt, get a 100% pay rise. [...] That's a slap in the face to every hardworking, tax paying American, especially GE employees.</td>
<td>That's why we are teaming up with Russ Feingold and his new group Progressive United today to call for Immelt to go. Will you join the call?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Humanitarian Aid</td>
<td>The devastation in Japan is simply horrific. The death toll is rising by the hour. Tens of thousands remain missing, more than 450,000 people have been displaced, and millions lack access to food, water, electricity, and medicine. ...</td>
<td>Right now the people of Japan are in crisis, their resources are stretched thin, and they need our help.</td>
<td>You can provide immediate assistance by donating to help fund the emergency response.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The "problem" delivers facts implying unpleasant situations such as fear, worry, unfairness, shame, and disappointment. On the contrary, the "solution" part is delivered through statements of hope and optimism that promise a change toward fairness and improvement.

MoveOn makes the audience believe that "the American Dream" is such an important value for Americans that they are ready to die for. The "problem" part of MoveOn campaigns exploits this value to unite members (of various background) and to inspire them to do whatevver it takes to defend it. This strategy, in Hugh Rank's Intensify/ Downplay pattern, belongs to "Association", i.e., intensifying by linking the idea with something already loved or desired by the intended audience. (In Eschholz, et.al., 1978). Some examples from the data include:

(40) The American Dream itself is under attack. (MoveOn, Feb 23)

(41) 50-state Mobilization to Save the American Dream (MoveOn, Feb 23)

(42) Rally to Save the American Dream (MoveOn, Feb 26)

(43) This is our chance ... to demand ...the restoration of the American Dream for all of us. (MoveOn, March 30)

(44) We need to keep building our strength until the American Dream can finally be attained by everyone. (MoveOn, March 30)

(45) This is nothing less than a full-out assault on the American Dream. (MoveOn, March 9)

(46) Let's send a clear message that trying to destroy the American Dream is a surefire way to get booted from office. (MoveOn, March 10)

(47) Wisconsin showed that the people are not going to let corporations and their allies on the right trample the American Dream without a fight. (MoveOn, March 17)

Besides with the American Dream, MoveOn also uses association with the rights of minority groups, which in the American context includes women, children, low-income families, and the diffable. This group is prone to discrimination, or deprivation, by the majority, while discrimination is a very sensitive issue for American today. MoveOn campaigns target Americans' spirit of heroism, that is, pride of doing something meaningful for others. The followings are examples from the campaigns which demonstrate concerns with the minority groups' welfare.

(48) ...which will deprive more than 3 million low-income people; cut ... in food and health care assistance to pregnant women, new moms, and children; Kick more than 200,000 children out of pre-school; cut some or all financial aid; send 10,000 low-
income veterans into homelessness. (MoveOn, March 8)

(49) Cut food aid to hungry pregnant women and children in the middle of an economic crisis (MoveOn, March 18)

(50) …includes a provision that could redefine rape and set women’s rights back by decades. (MoveOn, February 3).

(51) Federal funds are already severely restricted when it comes to reproductive rights and women’s health care, a situation that ends up hurting lower-income women in particular … (MoveOn, February 1)

All these discourse strategies—the use of ordinary words, simple syntax, and association with the American Dream and the Minority Group—help to make the message clear not only because they have reduced the complexity, but also by giving concrete picture especially in the “problem” part. When the problem is perceived to be real and concrete, it easily leads to the sense of emergency to take an immediate action.

CONCLUSION

MoveOn writes effective and powerful campaigns. Using one format containing three parts, each of which gives different emphasis on the issue, it persuades millions of members of various background to take a targeted action. Call-for-Action box delivers the message in the most to-the-point way, and is suitable for audience already having sufficient background information. Main Text gives elaboration on the issue to build a strong argument for the proposed action. This part is suitable for audience who still needs to comprehend why the proposed action is urgent. Supplement provides relevant sources to expand the horizon on the issue. This is suitable for curious audience, or audience having plenty of time to follow the detail of the issue, such as how different parties have their view to the issue.

The rhetorical structure follows a situation-problem-solution pattern. As the name suggests, the structure consists of three parts, namely the situation, the problem, and the solution. The situation is a report on what has happened, an update, or a situation that leads to a problem. The problem describes the unexpected, threats, or adverse impacts of a situation. The solution proposes a way out of the problem.

MoveOn associates the “problem” with The American Dream and The Rights of Minority Group—major values that Americans hold with respect. Their spirit of heroism is easily evoked when they are aware of any attack against these values. Association with the American Dream helps to unite the American as one nation, while association with the Rights of Minority group helps to build solidarity among groups in the American Society.

MoveOn uses simple English which is characterized by the use of ordinary words and simple syntax. Ordinary words, instead of jargons, help the audience to understand meaning clearly, and lead to rational response. The use of simple syntax eases the complexity of message, and consequently leads the audience to give favourable responses.

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